

THE
CONDUCT
OF THE
TWO B—RS

Thomas Parnham Duke of Newcastle & Henry
VINDICATED; *Parnham*

THE
EXAMINER'S
Numerous CONTRADICTIONS and
INCONSISTENCIES Exemplify'd;
His False FACTS Delineated.
AND
His Romantic CONJECTURES Exploded.

Cave, Cave, tolle Cornua.
About it Goddeſs and about it.

HOR.
POPE.

SECOND EDITION.

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John Murray

THE ROMANTIC CONJECTURES EXPLODED.
AND
THE FABLE FACTS DELINEATED.
INCONSISTENCIES EXHIBITED;
AND
HISTORICAL CONJECTURES AND

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AND
THE FABLE FACTS DELINEATED.

SECOND EDITION.

E. O. W. D. O. W.
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THE EXAMINATION EXAMIN'D.

THAT unhappy Prince *Charles* the first, in the midst of his troubles, was reported to say, that the *English* were a grave and wise people, and in regard to his own affairs, only concluded them impos'd upon or misled. Had that generous Monarch been now alive, and observ'd what wild and inconsistent whims catch the attention of the multitude, his opinion would probably have been still the same, for who is more wise, than him that can pleasurably submit to be cheated?

The modern scheme for writing politicks is to get together all the tittle tattle of the times, whether pick'd up at private gossipings, or publick news shops, and in every vacancy of known facts, which are only here and there scatter'd at large, to throw in the others by way of amusing incidents, to fill up the spaces, and bundle the whole together, by way of elegant romance, not considering how

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much easier it is to fill peoples heads with fictitious whims, than to eradicate error.

If men of letters did reflect a moment on the consequences naturally resulting from works merely calculated to inflame the minds of the people, they would surely be very cautious what kind of thoughts they committed to the press, and how they endeavour'd to inculcate into the weak or prejudic'd, sentiments that evidently contribute to unloose the ties of affection and duty, and break the bands of unity, between the legislature and the subject, and between man and man: or at least when faction seduces them to turn their talents this way, they would be very careful to rest solely on facts, and not in order to be admir'd, ground their whole doctrine on fiction.

The main end of this kind of writing is to set the people a staring, and the author's principal merit consists, in the difficulty of being understood. For that reason he will meet present applause, and as his labours outrun the capacity of every peruser, so are they to be justly concluded the work of some eminent hand. However this approbation happily lasts no longer, than until some dextrous enquirer truces the performance, as *Ithuriel* did the toad in *Milton*, when instantly the fallacy's unmask'd, and the deceiver appears in his natural shape and colouring.

We are to consider the pamphlet before us in the light of a novel, that by being interspers'd with some facts, and much virulence, has the sanction stamp'd upon it of a very excellent composition.

Those who read it need not to be told that the first seven pages are meer invention, at least appear not with any kind of evidence to shew the contrary, and in the middle of the eighth page we fall upon a simple fact, but whether that be true or false in the light the author has stated it, is another question. This is the secret treaty of *Hanau*, propos'd by the Emperor, and rejected at the Court of *Great Britain*, and as our author says by the influence of the two B——rs. Those who do, or think they know better, are of a very different opinion. But we must first consider, what this author has forgot, that is, whether this treaty ought to have been rejected, or not, and then by whom it was rejected. The treaty of *Hanau* was on the carpet at the same time with another negotiating at *Worms*; and it's very difficult to conceive how they could both have operated to effect, and therefore if it was true, as I think has never been disputed, that lord C——t patronis'd the last, it is most probable that he rejected the first. And as it is likewise a very well known fact, that he was strongly oppos'd by the two B——rs and their party, in regard to the treaty of *Worms*, it is next to certain that they espous'd the treaty of *Hanau*, and this author may well say it's strange that the two B——rs should oppose the treaty of *Hanau*, which intended the peace they aim'd at. But it is full as strange how he came by his information, which is not only wide of truth, but proves so on the face of the argument, even as himself states it. But we shall meet with stranger things than this, in every page we pursue.

The truth of the matter is, that the treaty of *Hanau* was negotiated to counteract the treaty of *Worms*, and because the latter took effect, the former was in course rejected, and the most that can at present be said of either of them, is, that the one pointed out a well concerted war, the other gave us a chance for returning again to our old pacific disposition, which sufficiently confirms, that the notion of the two B——rs having prevented its taking place, is a meer whim.

I must here beg leave to make an observation which will be found to hold true through the whole course of this dispute, which is, that the author of the examination has either mistaken his lesson, or his warm spirits have carried him beyond his judgment or knowledge, or both. For this, as will be seen, is not the only point wherein he does the party he seems to engage in a sensible injury; as he will find it impossible to reconcile his notion of the two B——rs obstructing both treaties, with the end for which they were separately pursued; nor can it be for the interest he seems to embrace to charge my lord C——t with espousing two contradictory treaties, which can only be meant by throwing the rejection of that of *Hanau* on the two B——rs. Nor as I remember is the fact true, that a clamour was rais'd against lord G——lle on that account, for surely in this, the time is mistaken, and the two events confounded. For such a clamour there really was on the conclusion of the treaty of *Worms*, but not when negotiating that of *Hanau*. And this seems better to connect with the rest of the author's

thor's reflections, which what he has now stated seems wholly to perplex and confound.

The conclusion drawn by him herefrom is truly whimsical. Though if the antecedent was true the consequent would be well enough. But it seems as if one was made for the other, and in this light he might very well say, as he has done in page 10, *that the two B——rs would neither give the —— leave to get out of the war, nor suffer him to carry it on.* But this only increases the wantonness of the thought, and in every respect confirms its absurdity. And to make this the basis for the Pretender's attempt on the throne, is so forc'd, that one would believe such wild deductions were merely made, to draw the reader into admiration of the author's surprising abilities.

There was certainly something very extraordinary in the conduct of the two B——rs, when it was publickly known that the Pretender was landed in *Scotland*, but however extraordinary that transaction appears, it will not justify any man in presuming a collusion. But here it is necessary to settle one point, without which the whole argument may be deficient in the necessary lights that should lead us into the paths of truth. Before this pamphlet appear'd, the general opinion was, that the two B——rs were rather wanting in skill, here they are suppos'd in the whole course of the novel before us to be extreme deep and artful politicians; how long this has been discover'd I can't pretend to say, but these contradictory sentiments by the same people, of the same men, expresses a very notorious want of penetration, and
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if they continue moving in the same road of contradiction, I can't see how we shall be able to reconcile the patriot, with the man of sense, much less be induced to take part with men, who build their politicks on so sandy a foundation. For my own part I neither see them in the light they were first represented, nor as now this author would have them appear; either characteristic seems to me rather calculated for romance, than suited to the gravity of reasoning on government. And yet if the two B——rs are not allow'd to be rank'd amongst the greatest politicians in *Europe*, I see not how the author of the examination will prove one tittle of what he writes, for hereupon his whole work is constructed; and unless he intends like *Milton* to make the devil his hero, it is astonishing on what principle he has rais'd those, who he seems to detest, to such distinguish'd dignity, while at the same time he lowers his real hero, in point of understanding, below the common rank of men, and shews him baffled in every attempt, and at last laugh'd at and excluded. This I must confess is a new system in the science of political writing, and peculiar to this author.

There is another matter equally meriting our notice, which is, the strange and uncommon virulence of the style, which seems to indicate either that the author wants breeding, is following the example of a person now in high preferment, and for the same reason, or has been personally treated out of measure ill. Perhaps the last may be some justification, but what it has to do with any part of the argument, or how to engage the affections of
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the people, or in any respect to bring them to their senses, unless he supposes all the better part of mankind educated at *Billingsgate*, is to me totally inconceivable. Neither can I reconcile another particular to common sense, which is that the two B——rs affecting to disbelieve the report of a growing rebellion, should inflame the people into a resentment against lord G——le, *upon a supposition that he intended thereby to cast the slur of jacobitism upon the violences of the faction, and to derive an argument from thence to be the better justified, in a farther prosecution of the war.* If such inconsistencies can any way be reconcil'd, it is by presuming here, that the author intends no very happy compliment to his hero, but for my own part, I must honestly confess, this is, if possible, more incomprehensible than the preceding.

The next section of page 11, is an instance how partial every man is to his own failings, and how severe upon those of others, to see the epithets, *passionate*, and *frantic* used, and forgot at almost the same instant, and even apply'd to a matter that seems to have been very calmly conducted, must surely induce this gentleman to recollect how much he forgets himself; for if he had consider'd how slowly we came into the war, and how coolly we pursued it, he would never have dreamt that either passionate or frantic people had any thing to do with it. *But how this furnish'd the faction with time and leisure to concert some new pretence to keep up the spirit of opposition,* the writer only can account for, and this *passionate temper produces an effect of*
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which it will be proper to furnish the world with three notable instances.

There is something in the next paragraph, page 12, a little perplexing in one of the *notable instances* of sending commodore *Barnet* to the *East Indies*, which no misrepresentation could give a *foreign completion* to, because it may be truly said, that the *E——t I——a C——y* stands indebted to the two *B——rs*, for the favours they have since receiv'd at the hands of *M. de la Bourdonnais*.

The next *notable instance* is less wild and inconsistent, and the fact, as the author would have it, stands thus. The new ministry desir'd that *Lestock* might be recall'd because he differ'd with *Matthews*, and were the warmer in their instances, as having heard that it was the common discourse in *France*, that *Lestock* wou'd not fight. This the old ministry oppos'd, and why they did so appears by the means they pursued afterwards, to ruin *Matthews* and save *Lestock*. Though *Matthews* undertook the command in the *Mediterranean* on their express promise to recall *Lestock*. This is the genuine sense of the paragraph page 13, which I could not repeat with all its virulence and verbosity without offending the ear of a modest reader. I can't help thinking with this author that Mr. *Matthews* was much the honefter man of the two, and that as it relates to the engagement in the *Mediterranean* had very hard usage. But that the *French* knew *Lestock* would not fight, or that the old ministry promis'd *Matthews* he should be recall'd, requires some better proof to be credited, otherwise I conceive this writer is acting the same part,

part, he complains of, in the two B----rs, and very unbecoming a man of honour.

The next is a *notable instance* indeed, but the writer wants temper to relate the affair, as it really was. For although it may be very true, that the scheme was well concerted between the allies, for the carrying the war into *France*, on the two different sides, and had a reasonable appearance of success; yet as experience convinc'd us afterwards, that the *Dutch* would not fight, I believe there were other reasons given, why various proposals were not excepted, than any impediment laid in the way by the two B-----rs. But what that army was, consisting of *English*, *Hanoverians*, *Austrians*, and *Dutch*, amounting to 85,000 men, *flush'd with the victory of the preceding year*, had no existence but in the author's imagination; nor does it appear that the *Austrians* and *Dutch* had ever yet been try'd, or in the victory, I suppose pointed at. Is it very clear that the *Hanoverians* did their duty? I remember the general opinion was otherwise, and so it was in relation to the conduct of affairs in *Flanders*, and both until now remain uncontradicted. But whether the crime of inaction is to be placed to the account of general *Wade*, as under the direction of the two B---rs, or to the duke *de Aremberg*, as was then generally reported, or perhaps to what seems really the fact, the superiority of the *French* army, and the questionable conduct of the *Dutch*, it is evident from the author's own shewing, that materials for a siege were to be brought from a place very distant; and if it be likewise true, as is

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here admitted, that the *French* took the field earlier, and gained a place or two of the *Dutch* barrier; it is most probable their army was superior, or better provided, or both; and it is not easy to be conceiv'd, how the allied army were to penetrate into *France*, or form grand sieges, when on this gentleman's own shewing, they were not in a capacity to prevent the enemy taking their towns. In which light the wisdom of the two B----rs is sufficiently apparent, when on the requisition of the artillery, they objected both to the parting with it, and to the expence of ill tim'd, and romantic sieges. I must confess the examiner shines in this article, for he shews, whether designedly or not, the two B----rs in a very happy light, at the same time that he makes a raw army, and part of them not to be depended on, capable of doing more under general *Wade* in one campaign, than the great duke of *Marlborough* was able to effect after all his victories, and in the face of a better general, with a superior army. But this I only rank among these sort of pleasantries, wherewith this gentleman has very successfully amused the public.

As we travel through page 16 and 17, we find the drama working up, to some kind of shape and colouring: and the two B——rs on the point of being discarded themselves, removing all their opposers, and introducing into their places, such whom they thought most eligible. It is amazing in this instance, as well as in many others, how the public came to mistake this author's drift, and ran away with a notion that he was writing against the

two B——rs when it is evident that he only here and there abuses them to give the better colour to his main design, which is to celebrate them as the greatest politicians, *Britain* ever produced. For this on his own shewing was a stroke of politicks that out Cecil'd *Cecil*, since to be absolutely in disfavour of their sovereign, *whose patience could endure no longer, conscious that he must have determin'd within himself to abandon them, and the B---rs thus circumstanc'd enabled to perform their contract with the broad-bottoms*, is too broad an absurdity for any body to produce but the examiner, unless he means thereby to joke with his reader, and turn the whole conduct of his piece into irony.

Personal reflection seems to be the glory of this author, absurdity his delight, and fair argument his aversion. A person is here singled out from the herd of broad-bottoms to be shewn away to the publick as an actual adherent to the Pretender, confessing all this to his sovereign, who likewise knew it before, and is now forced upon the throne by the influence of the two B——rs. I shall leave that gentleman to vindicate his own honour, which I suppose he is able to do, but there is something so extremely senseless, not to say wicked in these sort of reflections that may render them much below the notice of a man of dignity, and I don't see why, if there is the least spice of truth, in these warm and unguarded suggestions, but that the two B——rs might without any regard to the sanction of their sovereign, have new moulded the constitution into what shape or figure they pleas'd,

and at a time too when they chiefly fear'd being themselves discarded. Many wild fancies I have heard in discourse, and read in pamphlets, relative to public affairs, but such stuff as this, so ungrounded and incongruous, I believe is not to be match'd, by the most sanguine partizan, that ever let loose his imagination, or suffer'd his pen to scribble at random. But he has happily clear'd all this matter up in the next page, and after a course of unmatchable elegancies in describing the triumph of one of the B——rs at the head of the broad-bottoms, he seems to think that his relation *will surpass the comprehension of all mankind who shall hereafter read the story of these times*. I will beg leave to add, that it really surpasses the comprehension of all who live now, and conceive that posterity will see it in the same light we at present do, which is that of a romance, calculated to enrich the bookseller, and to deliver down the author as a person of unequal'd invention.

But as if all the worst passions that ever disgraced human nature, were concenter'd in one man, and blended into one performance, envy must among the rest expose its snaky ringlets, and point at men, whom the same author shews to be exquisitely wise, because, *they had not great fore-fathers, nor were of equal extraction to a thousand other lords and gentlemen in this nation*. I have omitted their want of abilities equal to the same thousand, by reason that I would not have the examiner eternally contradicting himself. For it is but too plain on the face of his own shewing, that had we a thousand

find such cunning men, as he makes the two B——rs to be, I don't know what would become of us. But as to their descent and pedigree I shall leave it to be settled between Mr. *Anstis* and the examiner.

After all this which is heretofore said to surpass human comprehension, we find in the last section of page 19, that, *the secret cause of this, however, cannot be long look'd for but it must be found.* And found it is in the corruption establish'd by the late E—— of O——d. There is I am afraid but too much truth in that gentleman's establishing corruption, and that it has operated in many respects very fatally. But seems to have very little to do with the present argument, the management of the—— and the contest between contending ministers, in the light here stated, as will be evidently shewn in a few pages forwards, where it comes more aptly in.

In consequence of this great discovery, it seems the poor Tories were drawn in only to be cheated, and the Jacobites with good reason, found cause to rejoice. This good reason is that few of them were the better for the change, instead whereof the Whig influence predominated more than ever, and the Jacobites rejoice in having acted as joint tools with the Tories to bring all this about. This is one other of the excellences of this author, in matter of argument, but reflections thereon are endless; they hold fairly through, and mark themselves as they pass.

It may here be particularly noticed in the examiner's favour, that he is rather a man in the reading, than in the argumentative world, and therefore
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writes better than he conceives. His pamphlet is a common extract from what has been publish'd before in the *State* of the *Nation*, but very differently understood. He has meerly consider'd two points, one the order of time, which is well preserv'd, the other is to keep the two B——rs constantly in his eye, and to make them the butt of his invective. But various matter occurring that he could not otherwise tell how to account for, his satyr is often turn'd into panegyric, and thus without discerning it most commonly compliments those he intends to condemn; in a word, the whole is something like a young lawyer's common place book, which was he to publish with his own reflections, would equally catch the attention of the multitude, and with the aid of a florid style, be much more read than Coke upon Lyttleton, tho' in fact one continued absurdity. There was a performance of this nature appear'd once before entituled, *Faction Detected*, which like this was admir'd for its incomprehensible qualities, and for being thrown together in the same manner, with the advantage of many words for a little money. This I say is the course of the examiner's writing, and therefore to expect facts, or when they appear rightly reasoned upon, is quite out of the question.

The two B——rs are now getting over the most eminent men in the city of *London*, by the means of remittances, contracts, subscriptions, and benefits of embargoes. Which is rightly enough stat-
ed, and he might have added by hints given them, for the raising or lowering of the public funds.

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But this fact is in some measure wrong turn'd, by shewing immediately after, that they push'd for popularity by taking away the negative from the lord-mayor and aldermen. But how this popularity connects with getting over the most eminent men, is not easily reconciled, and still less with itself ; for nothing is more true, than that they did not acquire popularity thereby, so that here is a supposition without ground ; nor in this part is the fact as stated, for the reason for espousing the annihilation of the negative, was rather to check the power of a majority of aldermen in a different interest, than to make themselves popular by obliging the common council who have not an equal weight in the city with the court of aldermen, though more in number. Thus we see what a kind of reasoner we have to deal with, and what the effect of meddling with politicks, and discoursing of public affairs as matters of amusement.

A happy invention that runs away with every thing and settles nothing, next brings the D—— on the stage to be play'd off as the dupe of the two B——rs, though it is not shewn that any one point was thereby attain'd ; but on the contrary, if the system given them by the examiner be the true one, by giving the D—— the command of the army, the whole became totally destroy'd ; for who can reconcile an unalterable disposition for peace, a resolution of getting out of the war at any rate, with the employing of a young man in his full spirits and vigour, and of naturally a gallant turn, at the head of an army ? That they courted his interest

terest may be very true, but never for the purpose of a peace made him a general. This answers itself, and therefore merits no farther reflection.

These inexperience'd fancies are followed by others, that I know not what denomination to assign them. It is a character obliquely drawn of this young gentleman that is perfectly shocking. It is making him the agent of infamy, partiality, and oppression. And this without the illustration of a single fact, or even the pretences of one, which in my humble opinion returns it all upon the examiner's own head with interest, and I think it is very happy if he escapes so. His virulence has astonish'd me all along, but here is perfectly amazing. The courtier in this, has out blaz'd *Billings-gate*, and the gentleman is degraded below a common porter. But this is the specie of writing, that cajoles the mob, and has that kind of policy for its guide, that it directs a man to level himself to the standard of those he writes to.

The exemplification of this, as it is term'd, only improves the invective, and fashions it into a kind of demonstration, that the examiner was not to be impeded in his course, so long as our language afforded words sufficient to feed his spleen. So now one two B——rs are forming a design to create an enmity between another two B——rs, which might easily have been executed, if the characters of the two noble personages were as different, as the examiner has drawn them. His judgment in this particular, seems to be of a piece with all the rest of the performance, as it is difficult to discover

ver whom he intends to abuse, the two B——rs or the D——, or both, they are introduced as equally operating in the same bad measures, and are so hard to divide, that one knows not by any art how to separate the knave from the fool, or to give either his proper character. But this is not the only part where morality is wanting, as well as good manners, nor indeed where a wrong, or a whimsical judgment is made of the most common transactions.

If the examiner is the person, whom the town points out as the author, it is wonderful that he should lay so much stress on a subject, that is so very well known to have nothing in it, or at this time of day be to learn, that the F——r and the H——r A———t are upon extreme good terms; should it please the Almighty to take one out of the world, that the M——y would be still the same. Can any man who has forty years pass'd over his head not know, that all distance of this kind is political affectation, and that the two B——rs and H——r A———t stand as well with each other as any three people in the world; why then this affected railing at the deceas'd M——r and at the two B——rs? Don't you know, Sir, that the P——e's men are only a body of reserve, to be used on a pinch, and that hereafter you will not be thank'd for these broad pushes; where then is all your penetration as a statesman, your reason as a man, and your language as a gentleman? all sacrificed to a farce, or non-entity. However as you have jumbled it together it may serve well enough for a winter's

evening amusement, or apply'd to the stage in the nature of a tragi, comi, dramatic satyr.

The conclusion of this, I must quote entire, because I do not understand the sense sufficiently to explain it.

“ There is no man who reads this, who does
 “ not feel the force of such a battery, and who
 “ will not acknowledge, that the virtue and spirit
 “ of these times are abundantly too *feeble* to bear
 “ up against it; unless with the *weight* of the whole
 “ *cabal* for their support. Page 27.

I should not criticise on this, because every writer is subject to little errors, but only that I fear it misleads the reader, who will not easily conceive what *cabal* this is, whose *weight* is to *support* the too *feeble* virtue and spirit of these times. This *cabal*, as appears in page 29, is the two B——rs and their adherents; but how the examiner came to think of them as the props of our feeble virtue and spirit, is a stroke of irony, if so intended, as far surpasses my understanding.

As the two B——rs were said before to dupe the D——e, the examiner now takes that business out of their hands; *he is not inclin'd to draw the least inference to his disadvantage*. This is very true, for he charges him with direct facts, and leaves other people to draw inferences; *and even here thinks that no name, how respectable soever, should be interpos'd between the public, and those who have betrayed it*. In this all honest men readily agree. But let us first see any respectable name that does interpose, and then it will be time enough to consider
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with what decency it may be prevented. This is hunting of shadows, and has for aught any body knows to the contrary, as little to do with the D—e, as with the two B—rs.

If the examiner is driving at a parliamentary enquiry into the disposition of the public money, he might have laid before us the rectitude of such a measure, without affronting a person unconcerned. It is in the breast of the legislature, and if they will not look into it, or do not see cause for so doing, as for any thing that appears here, there is not, I see no use of such reflections, but for abuse sake ; nor can I be pleas'd with treating men of dignity in this manner, upon such wild and random evidence, that has not the appearance of a fact to support it.

Here the examiner grows wanton, and after what has been said, talks of tenderness to his R ——— H ——— like the Papist inquisitors, who first torture a criminal, and deliver him over to the secular power to be burnt, and then desire they will not touch his blood. The reputation of a man of honour is more to him than his blood. This tenderness seems then to consist in being, *unwilling to suppose, that another of the motives for confirming this high trust upon him was for the sake of ruining the war with the more facility.* Which he is induced to believe, among other reasons equally pregnant and just ; *as first, his natural temper was to arms. Second, his rank put him above the controul of any collegues. Third, his inexperience in the practice of war : All of them such ingredients in the composition of a General,*

as could not fail to lead him into some errors, and to create such misunderstandings and dissensions, as had an unavoidable tendency to ruin the war. From hence, I suppose, we are to conclude, that if a General be warm in his temper, uncontrollable by his inferiors, and inexperience'd, he must consequently be sent abroad to ruin the war. But experience has shewn this not always to be a rule. As many generals have been employ'd to a contrary purpose, as warm in temper, as uncontroll'd, and as inexperience'd. And the knowledge of them is too recent to need being repeated. So that this is very far from proving what the examiner aims at ; but I don't know what will palliate the malice and idleness of his suggestions, that have no foundation, either in truth or common sense.

These ingredients the examiner calls *simples* ; I suppose from the simplicity of those who apply'd them. It is one of the many whimsical improprieties, which shine in this frantic performance ; an ill metaphor set to sparkle in a dull period. But they were to work a ferment between the D—e and the P— of O—e, by insisting on the first having the command of the *Dutch* troops ; which I fancy he never coveted after he had once fatally try'd them. But the aiming at the command, I suppose, was wrong ; because the P— of O—e was a more experience'd general, as having never yet been in the field as a commander.

Every point, reason'd upon in the examiner, has its delicacy. He then supposes it may be urg'd, that, according to his own representation, the
D—e

D—e had as much reason to complain of the two B—rs as others ; which he readily grants. But then, “ had the war prosper’d under his direction, “ he would have owed his establishment to his own “ importance, and must have reduc’d *them* to a “ dependance on him ; whereas, the case being as “ it is, *they*, as the only conquerors, consider him “ as a dependant on *them*, and make provision for “ his greatness only to support their own.”

This would be excellent, if one could but discover, what connection there is between the several persons pointed at, in regard to dignity, station, or otherwise howsoever ; or what dependance they can possibly have upon one another, more or less, whether the D—e conquer’d or was beaten: They could neither raise him higher, nor he them ; there was no place the one had, which the other desir’d. It is a mother goose’s fable deliver’d by a mountebank to the mob, that has neither head, tail, sense, nor meaning in it.

Here you are desir’d to pause a moment, to reflect on the danger of a connection between the military power, and that of the cabal ; that is, between a young general and the chancellor of the exchequer. I, for my part, think there would be danger, if there was no connection, or, more properly, no good understanding between them ; because the general might have his pay kept back. But this cannot be the connection the examiner means, nor can I surmise what that is. For the common connection, between all the great officers of state, is a good understanding, necessary to its peace and welfare ;

welfare; and if he only means that, the danger seems wholly to exist in his own crazy imagination; and is mention'd rather for the sake of saying something, than meaning any thing. But if he means, that a connection between them may produce a standing army, in my humble opinion, it will have a direct contrary effect; because, while there is peace and harmony, a standing army is out of the question; besides the examiner ought to know that the cabal, as he stiles them, have a better standing army at command, and more suitable to their support, than any they can put the D—e at the head of; and if according to his own reasoning, they would keep the D—e dependant, they would not, had they power, qualify him to command them; so that take it which way we will, the standing army, and all the nonsense about it, is a dream. At home the King is general in course, and whoever is so deputed abroad, at his return his commission ceases, and with it all this wise reasoner's connection.

The examiner, I must confess, understands his trade, as he rather writes to the passions, than to the sense of the people, and has acted his part with great skill and address. His business is to move, not convince; and should this after all turn out a piece of Court legerdemain, calculated to carry off the attention of the people from something more to the purpose; they must not be angry at being deceiv'd. I have full as good grounds for this suggestion, as the examiner has for any I have yet met with. As we proceed the suspicion increases upon us, and when we consider who is the real hero
of

of this performance, and the critical time of its first publication, I am almost confirm'd in the fact.

It is evident to me, that the examiner is not a stranger to his subject, from whence I conclude, that by his playing tricks with it, something more is meant, than appears. The D—e for a few pages has had the honour of being abus'd by him, he is now in a fair way of being made a hero; in one page he rails at him, in the next coaxes, and in the last almost deifies him; I suppose we shall have all this over again and again in due time and order.

It is impossible to answer these kind of works regularly, it is like a party of foot, pursuing a troop of light horse, or scampering among the mountains after highlanders. We were just now perplex'd with a whim about connecting the civil and military power; and now a kind of fact is in question, I say a kind of fact, because he keeps upon the presumption, with a guard against being caught by any direct assertion; he would fain have it believ'd, though he knows it is not true, that the common men are disbanded, and the officers kept in full pay, which he means, if he means any thing, by the manner of disbanding now, different from former custom, and the situation the ministry remain in, to raise a new army at their own pleasure: Now to make this matter short, I do plainly assert, that the army is disbanded, in the same manner as has been accusom'd on the like occasions; and that neither he, nor I, nor any man living in his senses believes, that this ministry, nor any other, unless we suppose them mad, would set up a military power in opposition to
their

their own, which, as I observ'd before, has a much better basis, and is most devoutly to be preserv'd. But without these flights and wildnesses, there is no getting on with such a long chain of Nothings; and therefore the D—e, the army, and the two B—rs; the two B—rs, the army and the De —; the connection, the danger, and the horror; the horror, the danger, and the connection, and such like stuff *ad infinitum*, jingled, varied, travers'd, and confounded, with great vigour and sprightliness, marches *in terrorem*, through at least ten pages; and then we re-enter again, with only a parenthesis of so many pages, on the old subject. That is to say, *that he only begs leave to say, with all imaginable respect for the illustrious person, we have been discoursing of, with the most grateful sense of his merit and services, which ought to be acknowledg'd, encouraged, and rewarded, in every way but this; let me have leave to say, and I hope every honest man in the kingdom will say with me first, &c.* That him, who begins with nonsense, generally concludes with jargon; and therefore I shall beg leave to say, what every man of sense, who reads with any degree of attention, must necessarily say, that enough has been said to make us all stare; and so we will renew the old subject again, and see what page 33 can contribute to amuse us farther.

We are now got to the removal of the E— of O—. And this too seems to have been the work of the two B—rs, which indeed is equally probable with most of the examiner's suggestions, and of a piece with them all; but as they have been so very
cunning

cunning all along, and done such wonderful feats in the ruining of the war, in connecting the military and civil power, in establishing standing armies, making the — their prisoner, the P—e their adversary, and the D—e their dupe and dependant. And in all things understood, and pursued their own interest with so much art and address, and with such success, as when in disfavour with their S—n, to give him a new M—y. It is wonderfull how they contriv'd, on their pushing out the E— of O—d, to let the only man they fear'd, get into possession of the reins of power, in preference to themselves. If we could manage to get this happily accounted for, the reconciling of such obvious contradictions would not be attended with any kind of future difficulty. Political penetration would then start up in quite a new light ; and impossibilities, incongruities, inconsistencies, and such like, would be conquer'd with great facility ; black prov'd to be white, and white black ; this, that, or any thing as happens to come uppermost. *But for this, we are now to offer further evidence.*

This evidence is, *that the two B—rs were brought up at the feet of W—, who was their Gamaliel in politicks, and therefore first turn'd him out, and put their adversary in. No, they themselves were suffer'd to continue.* Though it is shewn some pages past, that they did not get in untill some time after, which is indeed the truth ; but as it now answers best, we will have them in at first, and a few pages hence, we will contrive to turn them out again, as the two B—rs are good for
E nothing

nothing but to be bandyed about, like a couple of shuttlecocks, and played, and placed, and dandled with, as best suits the author's convenience; and therefore it is time to see what is next to be done with them.

The examiner is certainly a very merry fellow, as well as an eminent politician, and however cunning he makes the two B—rs to be, his own dexterity still triumphs over all. For now we are about to shew that these wise two B—rs have neither parts nor character, which is prov'd by their keeping their own secrets so well, that their having a hand in the removal of the E—l of O—d was *scarce suspected*. This is demonstration's half brother, yet I'll be hang'd if there's ever an old witch in the kingdom would be able to make it out. Thus you see, gentle reader, how we great men prove or disprove any thing, are a kind of intellectual conjurers, or mental hocus pocus men, that can, when the imagination is prone, change in idea the man into an owl, and by a sudden turn of fancy, re-humanise him again.

Now the two B—rs being continued in, the new M—rs plan was diametrically opposite to that of the old, and therefore, *they recommend the old system in contradiction to the new, and under the pretence of that consistency which they had not observ'd themselves, were to engage the phalanx when time should serve to avow it*. This *phalanx*, I suppose, is what in another place is titled the *cabal*; it has many other names here and there scatter'd about, and the reader may be assured is the same we have been all along canvassing. The

The reason why the two B—rs, or the *phalanx*, or the *cabal*, or, &c. are now brought in again, is, because the stage should not be left empty, and the new M—r talk to himself, which is against the rules of the drama ; as that always supposes when somebody talks, he should have somebody to talk to, except in the case of a soliloquy, which an actor may speak alone. Therefore though you are told before that the others are out, yet here they are suppos'd to be in, or the business of the stage should be at a full stop.

Upon this rational supposition let us see what they are doing together ; why the parties suppos'd present, only affected consistency, to gloss their rottenness. They were fond of a peace, only because they were fonder of corruption. Let us see how this tallies. Some pages past this fondness for a peace was, because the war was the new M—rs ; and therefore it is said at least twenty times over, that they ruin'd the war, which look'd plausible enough, and had something of the politician in it ; but as the case now stands upon this further charge, I am afraid policy is as much out of the question, as the sense and reason of the thing. For none but this giddy brain'd author could be so stupid as to suppose, but that there is greater room for corruption in a war, than in peace, as there are infinitely more opportunities of sinking upon the public in the former, than in the latter ; this is so obvious to the common sense of mankind, that if they were not contradiction mad, they could not avoid seeing it

without any illustration. His first suggestion may have ground, but this is quite senseless, yet wants not the qualities of a very pretty romantic amusement.

The 36th page affords us a new prospect, and leads us out of absurdity, into downright ignorance. He says, that the new M—rs were render'd unpopular, by following the very maxims which had render'd all other Ministers popular. If proof could have been expected any where, we should have found it here; but the contrary is so extremely well known, that an attempt in this author to prove any thing would amount to self-conviction, and lead him quite out of his beat.

It is very pleasant to observe how the examiner doubles; I have hunted him now through almost thirty six pages, and thought I had him safe at every turn, but as I find him among the furrows, I lose him among the brakes. In a word, he is at once the wildest and most cunning beast that ever led his pursuers through the political labyrinth; would any body believe that we are again upon the very spot, from whence at first we started? and yet nothing is more true. For he is now proceeding to explain the motives which induced the two B—rs to ruin the war, which in contempt of their notions of consistency, they had promised to support. And then the several steps and gradations by which they obtain'd their ends.

This author has surely the strangest head that was ever put upon man's shoulders, for though he is beginning again upon the same subject, he confesses
that

that he has little or nothing to say about it ; that is, as to the first part, so is to proceed on his steps and gradations ; these are unlucky expressions, being the very things whereby he was enabled to get up upon the stage, and expose alternately, the merry andrew and mountebank, in his own simple individual person. And now it seems they made a peace, or ruin'd the war, for fear the new M—r should have the honour of it. There is some appearance of politicks in this, and whether true or false is blest with a meaning, a point too often forgot in the course of this dream book, or at least is a better thought, than that about corruption. But he has asserted long before, that one *Gamaliel*, whom he pick'd out of the new testament, had taught them long before not to approve any war. And if this be true, then other reasons seem unnecessary ; but when an author has once pack'd up a bundle of reasons in his brain, there are many reasons why they should all come out ; first to shew that he had them in store, next to lengthen out his performance, and lastly, to shew with what address he can play his reasons against other people's reason, and triumph over the common sense of his readers. I dare say this jocosse rogue laugh'd in his sleeve, to think how many fools he should make, by cheating them into a warm expectation of finding something in his pamphlet ; diverting himself in the mean time in observing them give money to see the show, of the horse's head, where the tail should be. He consider'd at the same time a point which few authors attend to, which is the giving people words

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enough

enough for their money ; and selling what the booksellers call an honest eighteen penny pamphlet, for a shilling. I knew a brother mountebank, who by a similar conduct gain'd a very comfortable estate. His method was to give away the more bulky part of his packet, to those who paid him a shilling for the residue ; by which he at the same time pick'd the people's pocket, and had the credit of being an eminent physician, who travell'd out of charity. For the same reason this author is talk'd of as being at least a lord, though I can't think there is a lord in the kingdom fool enough to write such eminent nonsense.

What is scatter'd here and there in favour of a noble person, whose merit is extremely well known, will very ill make amends, for an imposition on the common understanding of mankind, by leading them a wild goose chase, through an intricate scene of vicious popularity. Nor will that noble person have reason to thank him, when he comes to find, that he is brought on the stage meerly to countenance a libel on one branch of the royal family, various impudent reflections on the King, personal abuse on some of the nobility, and universal scandal on all else that falls in his way ; so that whether this man be an artfull writer for the court, or a prejudiced man against it, there is only this to be said in his favour, that it is not easy to determine, whether those he abuses, or those he praises are most oblig'd to him.

The spirit of this performance owes its total being to supposition, and I have not yet observ'd any thing

thing that he has suppos'd, but what may be either true or false; the balance lies wholly in the bias, or affection of the reader. And it is not unpleasant to observe, when a piece of this kind is put into a run, how it makes people look at one another, as aiming to learn, in this uncertain state of judgment, from the countenances of each other, whether to applaud or condemn. If reason renders the latter most just, the temper of the times, and the idea of an eminent political writer renders the former more natural, and tho' they know not whom this great man is, yet as he has suggested, supposed, and fancied, so much for them, it would be ungratefull not to return the compliment, by allowing all that's possible in his favour.

Something like a new scene now presents it self before us, and in page 39, we find a person brought on the stage, whom I think has not appear'd personally before, and is attended by a train composed partly of new matter, and partly of what has been introduced many times before. *This Man, this Great Man*, had set himself up as the *Cicero* and *Cato* of the age, and is produced here, to form a connection between the two B——rs and the *Broadbottoms* in the same manner as the D——e was employ'd before to cement or unite the civil and military power; *This Man, This Great Man* is kept out of place, in order to frighten the two B——rs out of their wits; for it seems, that notwithstanding the said two B——rs have been shewn much too hard for a greater, great man, yet this lesser great man is to be too hard for them, and so we find him bullying

ing about two articles, *ostensible*, peculiar, and common, to the *Broad-bottoms*, and to both parties. The first comprehended a *Hanoverian* tub, and the other the old story, the ruin of the war, and here-upon arose a fierce debate, between the great *Broad-bottom* and the younger B—r, about the motions and operations of this *Hanover* tub, as it regarded the ruining of the war, and the peculiar interest of the *Broad-bottoms*, upon which occasion this younger B—r, who had set up this Ciceronian *Cato*, to terrify others, *grew frightened for himself*, and rather chose to let the said tub move about how he would have it, than remain any longer the butt of his abusive oratory, *which frivolous as it was he could neither bear nor repel*.

This great, little, frivolous, significant, terrifying *Broad-bottom*, it seems, was one *anti-Dimmock*, and the manner of terrifying the younger B—r was, a consent to let him have 57,965 pounds to put into this tub, and to send over in it to *Hanover*, and 200,000 pounds more, untill the temper of the times should mend. And now this fierce debate is at last so happily concluded, we shall finish another little parenthesis, and discourse about his R—H— the D—e again.

The two B—rs being now at the head of the army, and intending the ruin of the war as before, order'd their lieutenant the D—e with only 18000 foot and 4000 horse to attack the *French* army intrench'd consisting of 70,000 men under the countenance of their Sovereign, and conduct of their ablest General. These two B—rs certainly knew that

that 12,000 *Dutch* would not, and 8000 *Hanoverians* could not fight, and without communicating this knowledge to their lieutenant, they at all events set him a fighting. The examiner is very happy at invention, but not very dextrous in drawing characters and suiting them to the persons; we find one of these two B—rs just before frightened by a single *Broad-bottom*, and him an *anti-Dimmock* too, now acting like the fratral *Maccabees*, and attacking great armies with handfulls of men, which can only be accounted for by supposing, that the elder B—r was at least a hero of the first magnitude; however I suppose they both kept themselves entrench'd in the cabinet, and left their lieutenant to execute the dangerous exploit: but of this perhaps we may hear more hereafter.

The loss of *Tournay* is made the effect of this rash attack, tho' some think it would have been taken, had not the attack been made; however it certainly brought the Pretender into *Scotland* with about 40 men, when there was not above 4000 effective men in the Island, and impossible for the D—e to send any to our assistance. How the fact stands as to the 4000 effective men is not very clear, tho' I think it will prove false, as I am sure it did as to the D—e's not being able to send any men over; but these are little mistakes that rambling writers easily gallop over, which what follows sufficiently evinces.

The Pretender being now got over, the next thing is to prove that the two B—rs conniv'd at the growth of the rebellion, which is thus demon-

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strated.

strated. The young Pretender was become returning officer for *Scotland*, and while they held their places, they were sure of acting in the same capacity for *England*. This is I think the only fact which is attempted to be demonstrated, and infinitely excels all the casuistical nonsense, that had ever the impudence to appear in print. What follows immediately is of the same complection.

His— is then, either obliged to take the *Law* from them, or to see the way render'd smoother than ever, from *Scotland* to St. *James's*; which his M—y took does not appear, no more than what the examiner means; but it seems in the next paragraph, that whether the road was smooth'd or not, the influence of the two B——rs continued, and *Cato* the Ciceronian orator, and Stoic, tumbled by them neck and heels into the closet. In the course of this transaction another fact appears, which the examiner has more wit than to attempt to demonstrate. This was a battle between the - - - - and the two B——rs about bringing in this *Cato*; when the said two B——rs meeting a repulse, they declar'd their resentments by resigning their employments, and articling with every other person to do the same. These two B——rs are the most terrible fighting fellows I ever heard of, they first attack the *French* in their trenches, next the - - - - in his closet, and I don't despair soon of hearing they are got into *Scotland* battling the Pretender, and meerly to shew their warlike parts, first suffering him to raise an army. But for variety sake let us return to foreign affairs.

The

The next that falls in our way to be personally abus'd is P—W— of H—, and I am in some hopes that by degrees we shall have them all round, men, women, and children, that have any relation to the royal family, either by affinity, consanguinity, or otherwise howsoever. The person now in question it seems was a tool to the cabal, and assisted to screen them from the imputation of having rejected the treaty of *Hanau*, and openly laying the blame of the miscarriage on the E—of G—: as to this noble lord, tho' I am sorry to find him immers'd amongst such rubbish, yet as he is here I can't help taking so much notice of him, as to clear him from this reflection, by presuming that he did not think that the failure of the treaty of *Hanau* was any miscarriage, nor do I believe that the P—of H— had any more hand in the affair than the man in the moon, and in my opinion is only lugg'd in here to make what the poets calls more business upon the stage; if he is follow'd by the great *Mogul*, or the emperor of *Cbina* I shan't wonder, for more must be found to give the drama a perfect finishing.

In page 49 we find a master stroke of politicks pursued, and the two B——rs condescending to take the ——— into their alliance, and thereupon agreeing to take 4000 more of his electoral troops into their pay. This is so eminently ludicrous, a reach so far beyond all other writers, a thought so wild, whimsical and ridiculous, as could only start out of the regions of *Bedlam*. But the affinity appears only a little higher romanticis'd than the rest.

The D——e is now upon the point of getting out of *leading strings*, that is to say out of the hands of his nursery maids the two B——rs, and I hope he will soon be out of the paws of the examiner, who seems to delight in worrying him. Hence it seems the war is to be continued in compliment to the D—e, who has now learned to walk alone, and that he might confirm the glory, as a man in *Flanders*, which he had acquir'd as a child in *Scotland*. Here the fautors of the peace begin to commence warriors, and from thence it may be concluded, that the scheme for *ruining* of the war is at an end, and so shall hear no more on that subject. But this is perhaps a mistake, for we find in page 78 a paragraph that undeceives us in this particular, and which hastens to finish the catastrophe. I have follow'd the example of *Shakespear's* chorus to get at it, reflecting as I journied on, that as the D---e was become his own master, the two B---rs and him hand and glove, their alliance with his M—— sign'd and seal'd, the *Broad-bottoms* unanimous in carrying on of the war, and the two B--rs in perfect good humour on that account, I conceiv'd it now time to draw towards the end of my labours, by getting out on the wing from a wilderness of thorny perplexities, which without such a determin'd motion was not easy to be effected. For I find in the conclusion the following remarkable paragraph.

“ As in a play, when every scene and every incident serves to unravel the plot, and hasten the catastrophe, so every event now serv'd to unfold
“ and

“and accomplish the great purpose of *ruining* the
“*war.*”

The reader may see by this, what a pretty piece of work I should have had, if I had gone through such a wild scene, paragraph by paragraph; but as I have given the clue, he may easily clear the rest of the way himself: what I have remark'd, I hope is sufficient to evince the folly of men's being captivated, with such romantic writing, where one paragraph eternally contradicts the next, and fram'd and constructed on such a sandy basis, so senseless and ungrounded, that the writer's friends may truly say it is totally unanswerable; for I challenge the Author or others for him to shew any fact prov'd, or so substantiated as fairly to demand credit from one reasoning man in the kingdom, or indeed any thing that looks like a fact in one place that is not in another directly opposite. Such dissingenuity, mingled with so much invective, so invidiously contriv'd, to amuse, alarm, and deceive, is quite a new specie of scribbling; and as such never appear'd in our language, and has its source in a bad heart, and a distemper'd brain, I think, let the author be of what party, or take which side of the question he will, he is equally to be despis'd and discountenanc'd, especially as he has the assurance to tell us at last, that when he takes up his pen again, we are to expect a like series of evidence.

T H E E N D

and accomplish the great purpose of winning the
 world. The reader may say by this what a sorry piece of
 work! Should have had, if I had gone through such
 a wild scene, paragraph by paragraph; but as I have
 given the story, he may easily clear the rest of the
 way himself: what I have remarked, I hope is
 sufficient to advise the lady of men's being capti-
 vated, with such romantic writing, where one para-
 graph certainly contradicts the next; and I find
 and are wretched on such a lady's part, to be taken
 and surrounded, that the writer's friends may truly
 say it is totally unwarrantable; for I challenge
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 nanced, especially as he has the audacity to tell us
 in his preface that he takes up his paragraph, we are
 to expect a like sort of evidence.

T H O M A S